3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

NATIVE VILLAGES AND GROUPINGS OF THE COLUMBIA BASIN

I.

Detailed and reliable information regarding the locations of Indian villages and territorial distribution of native groups holds a wide range of interest and value for the historian, geographer, archaeologist, and ethnologist. Unfortunately this type of information will be all but impossible to obtain from the Pacific Northwest within the space of a few years. It has been in the hope of saving as much of this important data as possible that the work leading to the presentation of this paper has been pursued.[1]

All of the material here recorded has been gathered directly from native informants with the exception of supplementary data quoted from the work of other ethnologists who have been engaged in the same field. Informants were selected so that the information was furnished from direct experience or from knowledge gained from parents or others of the same generation. Many of the villages here named and located were birthplaces or residences of informants themselves or were visited by them during youth.[2] A few villages in the area had been

[1]This work was accomplished through the sponsorship of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.

[2]The principal informants used were as follows:

Lakes: James Bernard. Bernard was half Lakes, half Chinese, but had lived all his life with the Lakes. In 1931 he was perhaps eighty years old, the best informed and oldest surviving member of his group. He spoke English but very brokenly. From early in the present century until his death in 1934 he was chief of the few surviving members of the Lakes.

Kalispel: Bob Sherwood, a well educated, intelligent and affable Kalispel half-breed of middle age. Sherwood speaks both Kalispel and English fluently. He now lives near Usk, Washington.

Coeur d'Alene: Antelope, a middle-aged native who speaks some English but was never much influenced by whites. Information that he furnished was given with first-hand certainty. In 1934 Antelope lived near Worley, Idaho.

Spokane groups: Thomas Garry, an Upper Spokane aged about seventy-five years. His son and granddaughter served as interpreters. All are now resident near Gerome, Washington.

Sanpoil, Nespelem and Colville: Bob Covington, John Tom, William Burke. Information concerning these informants will be found in the preface to Verne F.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

abandoned as the result of white encroachment as early as 1880 but major displacements did not occur until after the turn of the century. Indeed, it was not until 1858 that the region was open to settlement by whites, and the railroad did not appear until 1883. In the words of George W. Fuller, "Annual emigrations [of whites] streamed across the interior [of Washington], seeing no reason to tarry in a seemingly arid and inhospitable land. As late as 1856, General Wool, commanding the Pacific Division, insisted that the Inland Empire was a natural Indian reservation and fit for nothing else[!]. It was to the interest of the first whites in the interior,—the fur traders,—that settlers be kept out. Just as the Walla Walla valley was being settled, an Indian uprising brought troops upon the stage, and General Wool closed the interior to Whites. Its occupation was delayed a dozen years, and the lockout might have lasted a long time if gold had not been discovered."[3]

Thus the Indian villages, which for the most part were off the routes used by the migrating whites, remained largely unmolested until well into the lifetimes of many living natives.

Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem: Salishan Peoples of Northeastern Washington," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology*. (Seattle, 1932), V, 1-237.

Chelan: The Wapato family, three brothers in the forties and fifties and their father. These intelligent informants, one of whom attended the University of Washington law school, furnished the information here given. All live near Manson, Washington.

Kittitas, Wenatchi: Sam Armstrong, aged about sixty years. Armstrong, an intelligent informant speaking good English, is of Wenatchi nativity but has spent much of his life with the Kittitas. He now lives near Harrah, Washington.

Yakima: Alek McCoy, an aged, infirm and blind, but mentally alert informant speaking no English. His son acted as interpreter. McCoy lived near Toppenish, Washington.

Klikitat: Lucy Quaempts, near eighty years of age. Mrs Quaempts does not speak English; her daughter served as interpreter. She is the sister of Joe Hunt who furnished many of the texts in Melville Jacobs, "Northwest Sahaptin Texts, I" in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1929), II, 175-244; and Melville Jacobs, "Northwest Sahaptin Texts," in *Columbia University Contributions in Anthropology* (New York, 1934), XIX, pt. 1. (Attention is called to the geographic texts in the latter volume, pp. 234-236.)

Umatilla: Allen Padawa, a middle-aged, full blood with a fair command of English. In addition to the material here presented, Padawa furnished a number of ethnologic texts as part of the author's work with the Umatilla under a commission from the Committee on Research in American Indian Languages. Padawa lived near Mission, Oregon, in 1932.

Cayuse: Gilbert Minthorn, about fifty years of age in 1930, was part Cayuse on his mother's side. The band names and locations were obtained by Dr. Jacobs in 1930, incidental to the work of the field linguistic party of the Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe. Morris Swadesh initiated the recording. These meager Cayuse data are more valuable than might be apparent, since the Cayuse culture, especially the language, is almost completely lost at this time.

[3]G. W. Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest* (New York, 1931), preface, vi.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

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The picture drawn here, then, will refer strictly to aboriginal conditions as they existed around 1850. Where information furnished referred to a somewhat later period it may safely be assumed that little movement had occurred during the intervening period.

It is of especial importance that this date be emphasized with regard to the data here presented for the territorial distribution may have been very different a hundred years earlier, due to native movements uninfluenced by direct contact with whites.[4]

Such static limitation is set upon this paper for several reasons. Most important is the notorious unreliability of native verbal traditions when they refer to history a few generations or more removed.[5] Such data, through weighting, balancing, and comparing, may prove of value for a theoretical discussion or a hypothetical reconstruction[6] but is of little worth for a purely factual paper. Secondly, though a tremendous bulk of material bearing on the subjects under consideration is available from the records of early explorers, traders, and missionaries, it is of little use for supplementing field data gathered today because of the temporal discrepancy. Moreover, such early records are of unequal reliability and often are extremely vague in defining areas and identifying locations. Also, some records are relatively full while others contain but occasional references pertinent to a study of territorial distributions. But perhaps the greatest difficulty grows out of the variations in recording native place and group names. It is

[4] James A. Teit, "The Middle Columbia Salish (ed. by Franz Boas," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1928), II, 83-128, considers at some length the possibility of a northward movement of Sahaptin-speaking peoples (Klikitat, Yakima?) from their postulated former habitat south of the Columbia river, carrying them into southern Washington and displacing the Salish-speaking peoples presumed to have occupied the area formerly.

I can not concur in the positive judgements drawn by Teit. Though some of the material in the present paper might be used in support of such a theory (e.g., Salish names for Kittitas villages nos. 10 and 11), yet my contact with these peoples has led me to become more and more skeptical of Teit's conclusions. I hope to pursue this particular problem further and present the evidence, with whatever conclusions may appear justified, in a future paper.

[5] Cf. Robert H. Lowie, "Oral Tradition and History," in *American Anthropologist* n.s., XVII, 597.

[6] See Leslie Spier, "Tribal Distribution in Southwestern Oregon," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXVIII, 358-65; and Joel V. Berreman, "Tribal Distribution in Oregon," thesis, University of Oregon, 1933.

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3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

very often impossible to make any use of what might otherwise be valuable material because of the distortions and variations in the recording of native words.[1]

Further, I feel that it is methodologically preferable to handle separately data from field research and from historical sources unless they are distinctly supplementary one to the other or provide a check one upon the other. Important generalizations which might come from independent treatment are in danger of being lost by joint treatment in an attempt to reconcile apparent contradictions which are almost certain to be present in the two sets of data.

Finally, and to sum up, the object of this paper is to present a limited amount of reasonably complete and accurate source material of a usable nature, material which may be checked and supplemented in the field and from which tenable generalizations may be drawn.

II.

The physiographic province known as the Columbia Basin is the geographic unit which most nearly coincides with the cultural area here considered. The Basin is bounded on the west by the Cascade mountains, on the south by the Blue mountains, on the east and the north by relatively low lying extensions of the Rocky Mountains, particularly the Selkirk range and the Okanogan Highlands. The habitat of the northeastern-most peoples here treated extended for some distance into the Northern Rocky Mountain province.

Geologically the Columbia Basin is strikingly characterized by a succession of lava flows reaching a thickness of 4000 feet in some places. The Columbia river, which drains all of the Basin as well as large adjacent areas, has cut a huge canyon hundreds of feet deep through this bed of basalt. The bed further has been broken up by gorges cut by ancient streams and by the river at times when it temporarily was blocked from

[1] Such distortion is of course unavoidable without an adequate method of phonetic transcription. For reference to the method now in use see footnote 37.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION IN EASTERN OREGON AND ADJACENT REGIONS

By VERNE F. RAY AND OTHERS

131 K 114

SEVERAL criticisms have been submitted for publication in this journal of the tribal units recognized and territories allocated them as recorded in *Linguistic Distributions and Political Groups of the Great Basin Shoshoneans* by Julian H. Steward[1] and in *Tribal Distribution in Oregon* by Joel V. Berreman.[2] In part the discussion turned on Berreman's inferences regarding Shoshonean occupation of eastern Oregon and his use of Teit's thesis that much of this area was once the home of those Sahaptin tribes (Klikitat, Yakima, etc.) which since the opening of the nineteenth century at least have been living in Washington.[3]

The discussions suffered from the unavailability of data known to the Editor to be in manuscript or field note form. Accordingly he invited the contributions printed below. For the sake of completeness it would have been well to have been able to include other manuscript material known to exist, but this has unfortunately not been submitted.

These statements are offered primarily as a record of facts as known to the contributors. They were asked to keep discussion at a minimum at this time. The Editor has not thought it desirable to resolve the conflict of testimony which appears here.

For convenience the data on tribes of eastern Oregon, Idaho, Wyoming, and the region immediately adjacent to the south is presented here, that on the Great Basin proper being reserved for the next issue of this journal.—EDITOR.

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION IN NORTHEASTERN OREGON

131 K 173

In a previous paper[4] I offered tentative data on the mid-nineteenth century distribution of tribes of northeastern Oregon and adjacent regions. These data were based entirely upon native testimony, but some boundaries were as yet uncertain or unknown and only a few village locations had been obtained. Also, attention was not given to the possibility of variant distributions at an earlier date. Subsequent field study devoted specifically

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[1] American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 625–34, 1937.

[2] Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, No. 47, 1937.

[3] James A. Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1928).

[4] Verne F. Ray, *Native Villages and Groupings of the Columbia Basin* (Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Vol. 27, pp. 99–152, 1936).

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

to these questions permits filling some of the gaps and correcting some of the uncertainties.[6]

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DISTRIBUTION AT THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Umatilla (yumati'la, from name of principal village, i'matɬam, "lots of rocks") occupied both banks of the Columbia River from the vicinity of Rock Creek (Washington) to a point a few miles below the mouth of the Walla Walla River. North of the Columbia the territory extended to the Horse Heaven Hills, southern boundary of the Yakima. In Oregon a much greater area was held, reaching south to the John Day River. Beyond lay the Paiute. The eastern and western boundaries were less definite due to greater intercourse with neighboring tribes. Rock Creek (Oregon) furnished an approximate western boundary but Umatilla families sometimes camped as far west as the John Day River;[8] reciprocally, the Wayampam or Tenino[9] enjoyed free movement eastward to Willow Creek. Even on the Columbia

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[6] This study was conducted for the Department of Anthropology of the University of Washington. A complete catalog of village locations was obtained for the Umatilla, Cayuse, Walula, and Palus, together with additions to a Tenino list acquired earlier. Thus tribal boundaries in this paper are based upon village locations as well as other distributional data. Where variance with my former mapping occurs, the present is the more definitive.

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The informants responsible for statements in this paper are many, including representatives of every group mentioned (see Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–100). The most specific data comes from James Kashkash, Mrs Kashkash, Allen Padawa, Sam Armstrong, Charley Morrison, and Annie Morrison.

N5

Kashkash was born ca. 1860 near Asotin, Wash.; father's father from Cayuse village near present Walla Walla; f's m from Nez Percé; m's f half Cayuse–half Nez Percé of Asotin; m's m Cayuse of Walla Walla. Kashkash went to Mackay Creek (Umatilla) in 1876; married Umatilla–Cayuse woman in 1879; later married present Nez Percé wife. Excellent memory; widely acquainted; well informed.

Mrs Kashkash: intelligent Nez Percé about 65; speaks no English; lived with Nez Percé until married.

Charley Morrison: Kittitas about 65; never went on reservation; born and lived continuously on old village site near Thorp, Wash.; f, m, f's f, f's m, and m's f born at same place; m's m from near Ellensburg; f's f's m from near Kittitas, Wash.; f's f's f from Puget Sound.

Annie Morrison: Wenatchi about 65; Charley's wife; lived with Wenatchi until middle age.

Allen Padawa; Sam Armstrong: see Ray, *loc. cit.*

[8] This accounts for the western boundary being placed at the John Day River in my former map.

[9] The western neighbors of the Umatilla have been known by both names. I have preferred and previously used Wayampam because this term has group reference (-pam, "people") whereas Tenino is a village name. However, Dr George Peter Murdock, who has worked with these people most extensively, favors Tenino. Therefore I propose to use the name Tenino exclusively hereafter.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131x River, where lines of demarcation were usually very definite, several vil-
173 lages were jointly occupied by Umatilla and Tenino.[8]

On the east the Umatilla-Cayuse division was equally vague except on the lower Umatilla River and near Ukiah. Both banks of the Umatilla River

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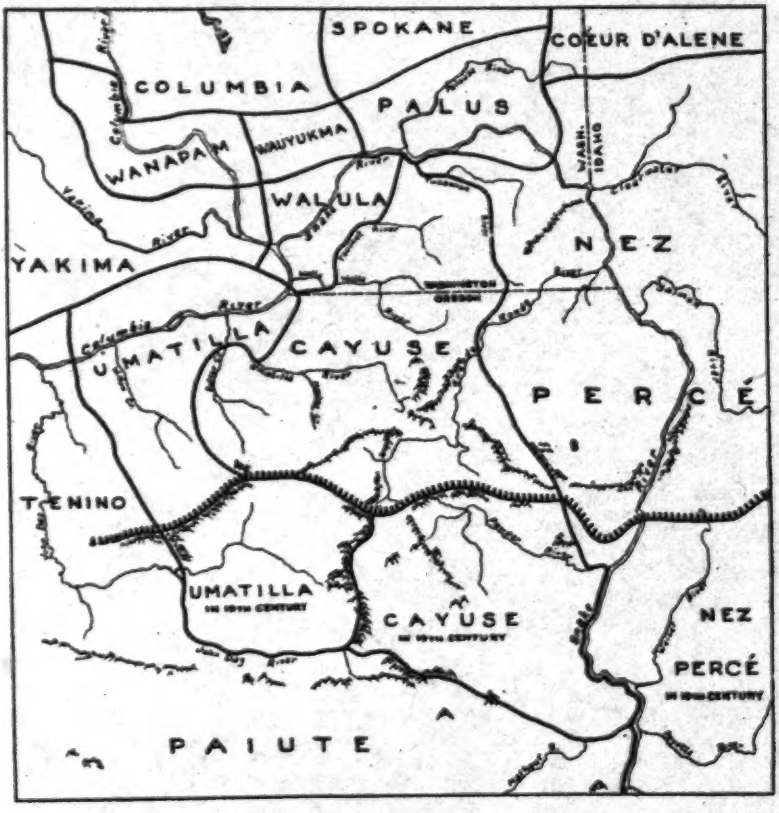

FIG. 1. Tribal distribution in northeastern Oregon and adjacent regions, by Ray. The serrated line represents the northern boundary of Shoshonean peoples in the 18th century and earlier.

131x below the mouth of Butter Creek, and the north side for several miles
173 above, belonged to the Umatilla; but all of Butter Creek was held by the Cayuse. In the gathering grounds to the south the Umatilla occupied the

[8] In the present map this area is divided between the two.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

Ukiah region, whereas the nearby Lehman hot springs belonged to the Cayuse. Village location largely determined these distinctions; though of mixed composition, the tribal affiliation of each of these villages was quite definite. 131 173

The irregular southern boundaries of the Umatilla and Cayuse were not arbitrary but conformed to topographical conditions. The Umatilla utilized the entire drainage area of the North Fork of the John Day River; the Cayuse used the slopes draining into the Umatilla and Powder Rivers.

Walula (walu'la [Umatilla name], wala'wala [Walula name], "little river;" name of largest village near mouth of Walla Walla River) territory adjoined that of the Umatilla at the bend of the Columbia, but these groups did not intermingle freely. In consequence, the line dividing them was quite definite. The uppermost Umatilla village included no Walula residents, although the principal Walula village was but a few miles distant. In addition to a short segment of the Columbia, the Walula occupied both sides of the Snake River from the mouth to Lyons Ferry.

The habitat of the Cayuse (wayi·'letpu) did not touch the Columbia at any point and bordered on the Snake for only a very short distance at the northernmost extreme, near Starbuck. A portion of the territory consisted of bare, rolling hills, but much of the area lay within the Blue Mountains. A number of drainage systems were occupied, including those of the Walla Walla, the Umatilla, the Upper Grande Ronde, Powder, and Burnt Rivers, and the Willow Creek branch of the Malheur River. On the northeast the Tucannon River formed the boundary; on the northwest a segment of the Touchet River served likewise.

Cayuse villages were spread over the whole of the area but were not often located along the boundaries. Thus villages were seldom of mixed composition. Intercourse was extensive with the Nez Percé but the line of demarcation remained well defined. The southern boundary lay in relatively unoccupied country. Territory to the south was held by the Paiute and Bannock, with whom relations were at all times strained.

The western and northern boundaries of the Nez Percé, as shown on the map, are based upon non-conflicting data from Cayuse, Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alene informants. These new data agree substantially with those obtained by Spinden from the Nez Percé many years ago.[9] The Nez Percé-Palus boundary rests on Palus village locations and Nez Percé territorial claims. Though the Palus (palu·'s, name of village at mouth of Palouse

[9] Herbert J. Spinden, *The Nez Percé Indians* (Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, Vol. 2, pp. 165–274, 1908), pp. 171–75.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131K River) occupied the valley of the Palouse River from its mouth to Colfax,
173 the principal villages were located on the Snake River.

DISTRIBUTION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Tribal territories as outlined above had persisted without material change, in Washington and northernmost Oregon, from time immemorial. But not so in the southern extensions of the area: Sahaptin peoples had acquired these regions only after the opening of the nineteenth century. Formerly Shoshonean peoples had occupied all of the upper drainage of the John Day River, all of the Powder River, and all of the Weiser and Payette River basins and the territory to the south. Throughout the span of traditional history the Umatilla had been bounded on the south by the range of hills spreading westward from Ukiah, the Cayuse by the Grande Ronde-Powder River divide, and the Nez Percé by the Wallowa and Seven Devils Mountains. During this period the eastern, western, and northern boundaries were essentially the same as in more recent times. A separate map for each period is therefore unnecessary; the earlier distribution may be indicated by a modified southern boundary.

DISTRIBUTION IN 1805–1806

131K The journals and maps of Lewis and Clark furnish a basis for determin-
175 ing tribal locations for the years 1805–1806. The explorers not only recorded
103 native distributions along the route of travel, but obtained information from native informants concerning more distant peoples. These data were used in constructing maps and tables covering a large portion of the area under discussion.[10] These maps are surprisingly accurate, considering the manner in which they were drafted, but many of the names have remained quite meaningless since the English equivalents were undetermined. Transcriptions and translations obtained in the field in connection with the present study permit the interpretation of certain of these names and the checking of earlier attempts at identification based largely on geographical positions.[11] Tribal locations can thus be determined with fair certainty.

The data may be summarized in tabular form:[12]

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[10] R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806* (7 vols., atlas, New York, 1904).

[11] E.g., James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion, etc.* (Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Pt. 2, 1896), pp. 731–45.

[12] The entries here are not limited to Oregon since tribal locations in Washington are of significance also in the discussion which follows.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

river. Southerly of the S. W. Mountains, and in Spring and summer on the heads of the *To-war-ne-hi-ooks* [Deschutes], *La Page* [John Day], *You-ma-tol-am* [Umatilla], and *Wal-lar-wal-lar* [Walla Walla] rivers, and more abundantly at the falls of the Towarnehiooks, for the purpose of fishing.[34]

Perhaps "the heads" of these rivers merely means the mountain highlands. But the reference to the Multnomah (Willamette) River is even more difficult to accept since it lies well to the west of the Cascade Mountains. Another statement mentions "Sho-Sho-ne's on the Multnomah and its waters, the residence of them is not well known to us."[35] This quotation carries its own criticism. Furthermore, the journal entry on which this notation is based reads: "Some of them informed us that they had latterly returned from the war excurtion against the Snake Indians who inhabit the upper part of the Multnomah river to the S. E. of them."[36] The reference here is to the ambiguous "Snake," not Shoshone, and the Multnomah is said to be southeast whereas actually it is to the southwest. It is quite possible that the enemy was the Molale.

EVIDENCE OF TRIBAL MOVEMENTS

Sahaptin informants declare that from time immemorial conflict has existed with the Shoshoneans. The Tenino and the Umatilla were allied against the Paiute, the Umatilla and Cayuse against the Paiute and Bannock, and the Cayuse and Nez Percé against the Bannock and Shoshone. But the Sahaptin tribes never questioned the right of the enemy to the territory occupied in the eighteenth century. Neither side ever attempted to wrest *territory* from the other. Marauding parties carried away moveable property, but the main object of warfare was the attainment of glory. A man's principal opportunity to raise his status was through valor in warfare. Among the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Nez Percé, at least, the typical Plains pattern of counting coup was found and a type of chieftainship was awarded on this basis. In these contests the Shoshoneans often pushed as far north as the Columbia River, forcing the Umatilla sometimes to take temporary refuge on Blalock Island or the north bank of the river. But the invaders never remained long and in no case established permanent camps. Any attempt would doubtless have resulted in failure, for the balance of power was at all times very even and the Sahaptins were on home ground.

After the turn of the century this balance began to shift in favor of the northerners. The acquisition of the horse and the introduction of new weapons by the whites were undoubtedly contributing factors. These superior weapons were available to the residents along the Columbia trade

[34] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 118. [35] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 119. [36] *Idem*, Vol. 4, p. 282.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

route in much greater quantities than to their more isolated enemies. At the same time motives were introduced for territorial expansion. The encroachments of the whites and the depletion of game near the river may be mentioned. Several decisive battles were fought in Shoshonean territory in which the Sahaptins were the victors. Thereafter the Shoshoneans were pushed farther and farther southward and finally held beyond the boundary indicated above for the nineteenth century.

The territory thus acquired was valuable for hunting and gathering but less suitable for permanent settlements. Its control added economic security and widened the span between the large Sahaptin villages and the enemy. No vital change in habitat and economy was involved, as would have been the case if Shoshoneans had attempted to settle the Columbia Valley.

The tribal movements thus indicated are in no sense momentous, but they are in exactly the opposite direction to those reported by James A. Teit[37] and accepted and amplified by Joel V. Berreman.[38] Without analyzing or criticizing the sources of Teit's information, I wish to examine some of the contentions where they are contradictory to data presented above.

Teit assumes that a Salishan tribe called the Nekɛtɛme'uɣ formerly resided at the Dalles.[39] Despite persistent inquiry among the peoples along the Columbia I have failed to find anyone who had ever heard of such a tribe or of any Salish speaking group in that vicinity. However, Kashkash suggested a possible explanation for the confusion. A Umatilla term, nikâtimiu'x, is commonly applied to an alien people; it means "persons who do not act sensibly."

A similar confusion may account for Mooney's contention that a Shoshonean tribe, the Lohim, occupied a portion of Willow Creek in Umatilla territory until as late as 1870.[40] Elderly Umatillas today deny that Shoshoneans ever lived on Willow Creek, but explain that laxi'am means "stupid, untrustworthy people." The term was often applied to the Yakima.

Berreman notes that

> The Henry-Thompson journals report a band of "Scietogas" in the Willamette Valley, who were said to have dwelt west of the Nez Percé. This name has been sometimes considered that of a Snake band, but the description he gives of the party leaves their identity uncertain.[41]

The "Scietogas" were more probably Sahaptin, since Shoshonean speakers designate Sahaptins collectively as sa'idoka, "white-tailed deer eaters."

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[37] Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish*, pp. 89–108.
[38] Berreman, *Tribal Distribution in Oregon*.
[39] Teit, *loc. cit.* [40] Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 743. [41] Berreman, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

the "Snake" invasions reached the "high water mark." Teit summarizes his reconstruction of antecedent events:

> The pressure of the Snake seems to have resulted, first, in a displacement of Shahaptian by them; second, in a displacement of Waiilatpuan tribes [the Sahaptin Cayuse and Molale] either by Shahaptian or Snake or both; third, in a displacement of Salish tribes by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan, but chiefly by the former.[53]

The last of these conditions, at least, if fulfilled could not have failed to result in profound chaos at the point of juncture, to set up reverberations reaching far northward into Washington, and to create deep seated enmities between Sahaptin and Salish, as well as between Cayuse and other Sahaptins. But Lewis and Clark saw nothing of chaos on the river. They demonstrated that conditions were stable in 1805 in all of eastern Washington, since virtually no change in either Sahaptin or Salish distributions took place subsequently. They found the Cayuse and other Sahaptins, not engaged in bitter conflict, but entirely friendly, as they are to this day. They found the Nez Percé and Palus enjoying peaceful trading relations with the Salish Coeur d'Alene, not attempting to seize their homelands. They observed no instance of Sahaptin-Salish enmity, thus supporting the contention of natives today that warfare between the two has never been known.[54]

VERNE F. RAY

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

NOTES ON THE TENINO, MOLALA, AND PAIUTE OF OREGON

The following notes are offered by way of comment upon the tribal distributions in central Oregon recently compiled by J. V. Berreman.[55] The information and inferences given below are based upon field work by the author among the Tenino on the Warmsprings Reservation in the summers of 1934 and 1935.

THE TENINO

The Tenino or Warmsprings Sahaptin occupied the banks of the Columbia River between the Upper Chinook (Wasco and Wishram) on the west and the Umatilla on the east, as well as the lower reaches of the Deschutes

[53] Teit, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[54] Not only were tribal locations stable in the area under assumed pressure, but particular families of the "intrusive" Sahaptin have lived in particular villages for as long as five generations (see footnote 5; Morrison's f's f's m was born near Kittitas, Wash., at least as early as 1810).

[55] *Tribal Distribution in Oregon.*

4: Ray et al (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

and John Day Rivers. They were divided into four sub-tribes or rather pairs of villages—one, with rather flimsy and temporary buildings, located on the river and used during the fishing season in the warmer months; the other, with substantial permanent dwellings, located several miles distant, usually away from the river, at a spot which provided water, fuel, and

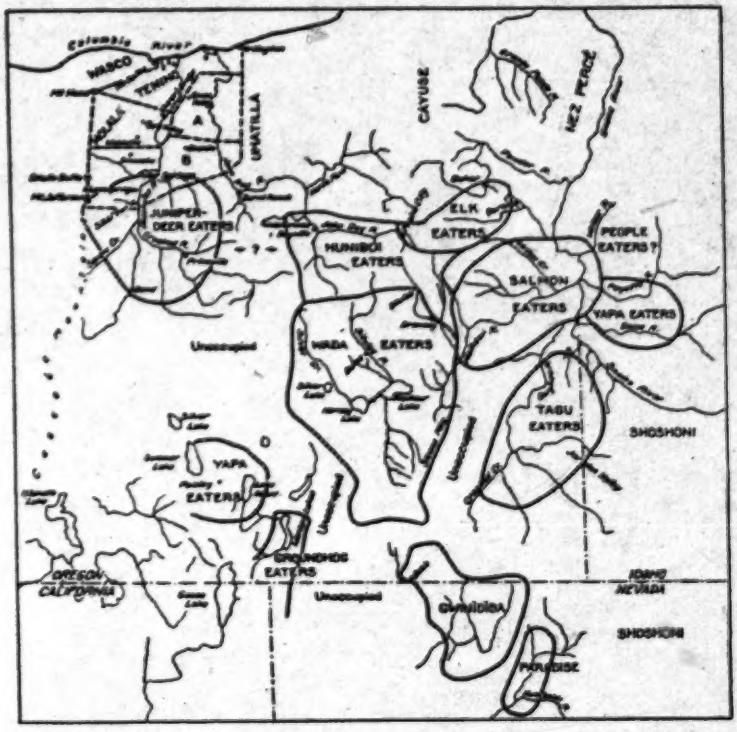

FIG. 2. Territory of the Tenino, Molala, and Oregon Paiute. Tenino-Molala territory (broken lines) by Murdock. A, disputed territory of Paiute, used by John Day Tenino for hunting; B, originally Paiute territory, from which the Paiute were displaced by Tenino. (Numbers near the Columbia indicate native sites mentioned in the text.) Northern Paiute territory (solid lines) by Blyth.

shelter from the winds during the colder half of the year. The four subdivisions, originally independent though always friendly, were:

1. The Tenino proper, who during the summer occupied the village of

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

tinai'nu (1)[36] about four miles east of The Dalles on the left bank of the Columbia, and who wintered six miles inland at taqa'xtaqax (2). 131* 173

2. The Wayam or Deschutes, who summered at waya'm (3: modern Celilo) and wintered at wanwa'wi (4) on the left bank of the Deschutes not far from its junction with the Columbia. 361

3. The John Day, whose summer and winter villages (takcpa'c [6] and maxa'xpa [5]) were both located on the lower John Day River within a few miles of the Columbia, and whose territory adjoined that of the Umatilla near Arlington.

4. The Tygh, an early nineteenth century offshoot from the Tenino proper, who expelled the Molala from their former territory and occupied their villages: taix, their winter village at modern Tygh Valley, and tlxni', their summer fishing site at modern Sherar's Bridge on the Deschutes. The "Tygh" and "Tilquni" of Mooney[37] are thus not two sub-tribes but merely two names for the same sub-tribe derived from its two villages.

The John Day, who alone of the four sub-tribes seem to have had a permanent foothold on the Washington bank of the Columbia, habitually went to Mt Adams for berries, whereas the other three groups frequented Mt Hood during the berry season. All four, however, ranged south from the Columbia for game and roots. Complete freedom of trade and intercourse prevailed between the Tenino and the Wasco, Wishram, Umatilla, and Sahaptin tribes of Washington. With the Paiute alone, whom they raided for slaves, were they on terms of chronic hostility. After the treaty of June 25th, 1855, the Tenino removed to the Warmsprings Reservation, where they have been settled ever since in the vicinity of Simnasho. Since their establishment on the reservation they have called themselves malila' (cf. Mooney's "Melilema"), which is merely a Sahaptin adaptation of "warm springs." [101]

THE MOLALA

According to Tenino sources, the Molala, whom they call tai'tilpam or mo'lalis, were a small tribe, possibly one-third as numerous as the Tenino, who spoke a language which neither the Tenino nor the Wasco could understand. In culture they differed markedly from the Paiute and resembled the Tenino, although they did not keep slaves. They had only one winter village, on the site of modern Tygh Valley, and moved every spring to a summer fishing village at Sherar's Bridge on the Deschutes. They dug roots in the vicinity of modern Wapinitia and gathered berries on the eastern

[36] Numbers in parentheses refer to similarly numbered sites indicated on the accompanying map, Figure 2.

[37] Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion*, pp. 741–42.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131 K 173 367 slope of Mt Hood. They sometimes hunted to the south, in the region of Simnasho, but this was really Paiute territory. The Molala and Paiute were hostile, although the Tenino preserve no tradition of particular wars between the two tribes.

THE PAIUTE

The country south of the Molala, including the berrying grounds around Ollalie Butte and Mt Jefferson and the entire area of the present Warmsprings Reservation, has been Paiute territory, say the Tenino, from time immemorial. In this region the Paiute formerly had at least three winter sites: la'xwaixt wanai'tat or modern Hot Springs, c±tai'kt or modern Warmsprings, and siksi'kwi on Seekseekwa Creek. The rich root-gathering country around Shaniko was also exploited by the Paiute. On the John Day River the Paiute came in contact with the John Day sub-tribe of the Tenino. The lower middle reaches of this river, directly east of the Molala country, seem always to have been used to some extent by the John Day, although they admit that the country properly belonged to the Paiute.

THE DISPLACEMENT OF THE MOLALA

131 K 173 721 Sometime during the decade 1810–1820, or within a very few years thereof, the Molala were driven out of their territory by the Tenino. A circumstantial account of this Tenino-Molala war was obtained from informant Johnnie Quinn, who had heard the story as a youngster from his grandfather, an actual participant as a young man of nineteen or twenty. The approximate date may be worked out from the fact that, according to agency records, Quinn was born about 1853 and the corroborative evidence that he still retains memories of pre-reservation days. The war began with an act of aggression by the Tenino proper, the Wayam and John Day sub-tribes not participating. Coveting the productive fishing site of the Molala at Sherar's Bridge, the Tenino moved in early one spring before the Molala had left their winter village. We are not concerned here with the details of how the Tenino met the Molala attack, rescued their leader when he was wounded in the knee with an arrow, and eventually put the enemy to flight. The important fact is that the Molala were driven in a body westward across the Cascade Range, whence they have never since returned, and that their territory and villages were taken over by a group of Tenino colonists who eventually came to form the Tygh sub-tribe.

TENINO ENCROACHMENT UPON THE PAIUTE

Having displaced the Molala, the Tenino began to drive farther southward against the Paiute. Gradually, in part through slave raids but mainly through the ruthless extermination of Paiute groups encountered on hunt-

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-47) 1938 Plateau

ing expeditions, the Tenino advanced ever deeper into the territory of their traditional foes. By the time of the establishment of the Warmsprings Reservation they had expelled the Paiute from the berrying grounds near Ollalie Butte and Mt Jefferson, from the wintering places at Hot Springs, Warmsprings, and siksi'kwi, from the root-gathering grounds around Shaniko, and from the entire John Day Valley almost as far south as the great bend of that river. Hunting expeditions ranged still deeper into Paiute territory.

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POST-RESERVATION PAIUTE REPRISALS

By 1857, most of the Tenino were settled on the Warmsprings Reservation, which was, as the Tenino are still fully aware, carved entirely out of territory won from the Paiute and properly belonging to the latter. The tables were now turned. The Tenino villages were no longer remote from the Paiute centers of population but were within striking distance. Their inhabitants were scattered on homesteads which the government was trying to teach them to farm. The presence of livestock, provided in large part by the government, offered a constant temptation to plunder. The Paiute quickly seized the opportunity for retaliation against their previously victorious foe. Raid followed raid for years after the establishment of the reservation, as a few selections from letters examined by the author in the Warmsprings archives will show:

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Jan. 26, 1858, from A. P. Dennison, Indian agent, to General I. W. Nesmith: "the Snake or Sho-sho-nie [i.e., Paiute] tribe of Indians . . . have lately made several attacks upon other tribes of Indians in the vicinity of John Days River killing several and stealing their Horses . . . . "

July 14, 1859, from Dennison to Edward P. Geary, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Portland, reports 150 head of stock lost in Paiute raids of that year.

Aug. 10, 1859, from Dr Fitch, reservation doctor, to Captain Black at Fort Dalles, reports a raid by 250 Paiute resulting in the seizure of 150 horses and 40 cattle, the massacre of one white man and 13 Indian women and children, and his own capture and escape with four others.

Sept. 28, 1860, from Dennison to Geary, reports the loss of 40 horses in a Paiute raid.

Oct. 16, 1861, from William Logan, Indian agent, to Captain Whittlesey at Fort Dalles, reports a Paiute raid in which 100 cattle were taken and two men slain.

Similar reports continue for several years. This early post-reservation period with its record of almost continual Paiute raids is worth reporting for two reasons; first, because it is the only period of successful Paiute aggression of which the Tenino preserve any recollection and, second, because it probably bequeathed to the next generation an exaggerated impression of

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

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the danger which the Paiute constituted to the more settled tribes of the Columbia region at an earlier date.

CRITICISM OF TEIT'S HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

In view of the foregoing facts and of others to be summarized below, the reconstruction of tribal movements in central Oregon advanced by Teit and followed by Berreman seems to the present writer to be almost wholly without foundation.

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Teit's sources, in the first place, are so weak as to be undeserving of credit. He derived his information, he tells us, from three informants: a white sub-agent at Nespelem, an Interior Salish interpreter with one-quarter French blood, and a mixed Polynesian-Nisqually who was a government official for several years at Warmsprings. Such sources would scarcely seem to constitute an adequate basis for a definitive reconstruction of the history of the Tenino, Molala, and Paiute.

Teit's theory, in the second place, is uncorroborated by subsequent field workers in central Oregon. Except for the approximate location of the Molala, the present writer found not a shred of support for any part of Teit's theory in the course of his work among the Tenino, and he understands from personal communications from Verne F. Ray, Melville Jacobs, and Beatrice Blyth that they have had no greater success in this respect among the Umatilla, Molala, and the Oregon Paiute respectively.

Teit's theory, in the third place, is specifically contradicted at nearly every point by the author's information from the Tenino, as may be clearly seen by presenting the theory and conflicting evidence in parallel columns:

Teit	*Tenino*
1. In the early eighteenth century both banks of the Columbia River above The Dalles were occupied by Interior Salishan tribes.	1. No recollection or tradition of any Salishan people settled in this region; no knowledge of the Nekutameux.
2. South of the Salish, in a band from the Cascade Range to the Blue Mountains, dwelt the Waiilatpuan tribes—the Molala west of the Deschutes River, the Cayuse to the east.	2. Corroborated, at least for the Molala.
3. At that time there were no Sahaptin tribes in the present state of Washington.	3. No scrap of tradition that the Washington Sahaptin ever lived far from their present habitat.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

4. All the Sahaptin tribes, except the somewhat divergent Nez Percé, were confined to central Oregon, "probably with the Cascade Mountains and the Klamath on their west, the Waiilatpuan on their north, probably the Nez Percé on their northeast, and the Snake [i.e., Paiute] on their other boundaries."

4. Flat denial that the Tenino—or any other Sahaptin people—have inhabited central Oregon within the memory of man; denial borne out by Tenino culture, which differs markedly from the Basin type suited to the environment of central Oregon, and which affiliates with both the Plateau and the lower Columbia, as witness, for example, dugout canoes, semisubterranean earth lodges, elaboration of river fishing techniques, slavery, village political u..its, strong emphasis upon trade, social importance of wealth, prophet dance, and prominent first salmon rite.

131 ✕
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5. The Paiute, expanding to the north and northwest, exerted steady pressure upon the Sahaptin, which reached its height in the years 1800-1830.

5. The Tenino, expanding to the south and southeast, exerted steady pressure upon the Paiute, which reached its height in the years between 1810 or 1820 and 1855.

6. As a result of this pressure, the Sahaptin were forced northward down the Deschutes River, through a gap between the Cayuse and the Molala, to and across the Columbia, where they displaced the Salishan peoples and gave rise to the recent Sahaptin tribes of Washington.

6. As a result of Tenino pressure, the Paiute were forced southward up the Deschutes and John Day Rivers, relinquishing a portion of their former territory.

7. The Tenino, who constituted the last wave of fugitive Sahaptin migrants, partly settled among the Wasco near The Dalles and partly moved westward across the Cascades into the Willamette Valley.

7. The Tenino, allegedly, have long lived near—not among—the Wasco, and they remember no mass movement by part of their number into the Willamette Valley.

8. The displacement of the Sahaptin from central Oregon brought the Paiute for the first time into contact with the Molala.

8. The Molala, residing south of the Sahaptin, have allegedly been in contact with the Paiute from time immemorial.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131 x 173 114

9. Paiute pressure then forced the Molala to migrate west of the Cascades.	9. The Molala were driven west of the Cascades by the Tenino, not by the Paiute.
10. These movements brought the Paiute north almost to the Columbia.	10. These movements carried the Paiute farther and farther south away from the Columbia, which they now approached only on occasional long forays.
11. In consequence of Paiute raids the south bank of the Columbia River was practically cleared of Salishan and Sahaptin peoples from The Dalles east to Umatilla.	11. The Tenino, to their recollection, were never thus driven from the south bank of the Columbia; the apparent lack of occupation was presumably due to the fact that all their permanent villages were located several miles or more to the south, away from the river.

In conclusion, it would seem high time to abandon a theory which was based in the first instance upon undependable evidence, which has been unsubstantiated by any subsequent field worker in central Oregon, and which is flatly contradicted by an abundance of opposing evidence.

GEORGE PETER MURDOCK

YALE UNIVERSITY

NORTHERN PAIUTE BANDS IN OREGON

131 x 173 166

The people of Harney Valley, Oregon, are a band of Northern Paiute known as the Wada'tika (Wada, seed; tika'a, eaters).[48] They wintered in Silver Creek, Harney, Diamond, Blitzen and Catlow Valleys in Harney County, southeastern Oregon. The southernmost winter camp remembered was at Roaring Springs, Catlow Valley, although some conflicting evidence indicates the presence of a winter camp on Wild Horse Creek, southeast of the Steens Mountains. No winter camp north of the boundaries of Harney Valley was remembered. The westernmost wintering place was Suntex in Silver Creek Valley. The Steens Mountains and the plateau forming the wall of Harney Valley were the eastern boundaries, except for the problematical camp at Wild Horse. The hunting and gathering grounds of the band extended north to the vicinity of Silvies, west to Wagontire, southwest to the neighborhood of Beatty Butte, south to the limits of

[48] During the summers of 1936 and 1937 I did field work at Burns, Oregon.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

Catlow Valley, southeast to Alvord Lake and northeast to Drewsey. 131 x

These boundaries are far from definite; neighboring bands frequently wandering farther from their winter bases and the Wada Eaters likewise venturing, at times, a greater distance from Harney Valley. Furthermore, the bands were extremely fluid in character, and there were occasional small camp groups which wandered from band to band and which do not seem to have wintered with any definite nuclear group. There was no feeling of band ownership of the hunting and gathering grounds. Any group of people might utilize the produce of the terrain without trespassing. There was a tendency, however, for the Wada Eaters to frequent the same places from year to year. During the summer wandering, they would often encounter people of different groups. 173 166

The Wada Eater knew well and had frequent intercourse with seven surrounding bands. They located these bands by their winter camps. In some instances they gave specific information as to the places they were likely to be found during the summer season. In mapping these regions, there is land which they did not assign to any definite group. Such territory was undoubtedly utilized by all adjacent bands, like all hunting and gathering grounds.

Directly north of the Wada Eaters were the Hu'nipwi'tĭka (huni'bui, root) whose winter camps, according to my informants, centered around Canyon City Creek, the town of John Day, and the valley of the John Day River to the west. They hunted as far south as Seneca and Izee, and at least as far west as Dayville. I have no information as to their northern boundary, but it was stated that they wintered on both sides of the John Day River and as far north as Waterman. As to the easternmost extension of their terrain there was disagreement. Some informants cited a separate band of Elk Eaters (Pa'tĭhĭchi'tĭka) to the east of the Huni'bui Eaters in the vicinity of Prairie City and Baker. Others, however, stated that these people were part of the Huni'bui Eaters band. In any case, the information would seem to indicate the presence of camps as far east as Baker. 131 x 173

To the northwest of the Wada Eaters, wintering on the east side of the Deschutes River, were the Juniper-Deer Eaters (Wa'dĭhĭchi'tĭka: wa'pi, juniper; dĭhĭ'chə, deer.) The northernmost place mentioned as inhabited by them was Gateway, the southernmost, Bend. To the east Prineville is the last definitely located site. Mount Jefferson, to the west, was mentioned as a hunting ground.

West of the Wada Eaters and south of the Juniper-Deer Eaters, in the vicinity of Paisley, were the Yapa'tĭka (yapa, epos), or Goya'tĭka (craw-

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131 fish).[39] Southwest of the Wada Eaters, and separated by the plateau to the
173 southeast of Catlow Valley, were the Gidū'tikad[39,40] (Gidī'tika, Groundhog Eaters). In the vicinity of Denio and McDermitt, to the south of the Wada Eaters were the G̊wi'nidī'ba (no meaning?). According to informants there were no strictly Paiute bands between these people and the Shoshoni. In the vicinity of Paradise Valley and the railroad to Winnemucca, however, there was a group known as the Paradise Indians, who were half Paiute and half Shoshoni.

In the Owyhee River Valley and the vicinity of the present site of the town Jordan Valley, east from the Wada Eaters, were the Tagu'tika (tagu, root). There were no pure Paiute bands farther to the east.

Northeast of the Wada Eaters were the Salmon Eaters (Agai'tika). They wintered on the north and south sides of the Malheur River and fished on the Snake. Some informants distinguished two bands of Salmon Eaters, those living north and those south of the Malheur River. The camps of this band extended as far west as the North Fork of the Malheur. Two informants stated that they also wintered on the east side of the Snake. This was denied by others. All informants agreed, however, that they camped on both sides of the river in the spring and summer.[41]

One band, described as being east and north of the Snake River, were known vaguely to the people of Harney Valley. The information indicated that they probably wintered near the Boise River. The members of this band, according to one informant were half Paiute and half Shoshoni. One informant mentioned another band of People Eaters (Niwī'tika), but did not make it clear whether they lived in the hills to the north or south of the Boise. It was evident that east of the Snake there was a great deal of intermixture of people of Shoshoni and Paiute bands.

These locations were obtained from informants of about seventy-five years old and pertained to the time of their parents, that is approximately 1840–1850. By 1865 pressure from the Umatilla, Cayuse, Tenino, Shoshoni, and the United States Army had driven the Huni'bui Eaters south, the Salmon Eaters west, and the Juniper-Deer Eaters south and east. The bands on the periphery seem to have suffered tremendous losses in the period directly preceding the establishment of the reservation in 1872.

This mapping does not conflict with Steward's distribution of the Sho-

[39] In the case of all the bands there were two or three variant names cited as well as names for sub-groups.

[40] See Isabel T. Kelly, *Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 31, No. 3, 1932), p. 70.

[41] Information indicated a large percentage of intermarriage with the Shoshoni.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

shoni tribes.[62] It disagrees with Ray's mapping of the Umatilla,[63] which gives to the latter terrain on both sides of the John Day. My information does not in any way substantiate Berreman's classification of the peoples in central eastern Oregon about 1850 in which he postulates Snake and Bannock groups in the north as opposed to Northern Paiute to the south.[64] The bands to the north and northeast, according to the information I secured from the Harney Valley group, were very similar to the Wada Eaters. The dialectic differences were slight. Their cultures differed in aspects of the food quest and material culture. The bands to the north and northwest made much more use of bark and juniper berries. The bands on the Snake had access to a larger quantity of fish, had dugout canoes, and more elaborate fishing techniques.[65] Intermarriage between these groups and those to the south in Nevada and Surprise Valley was common. The population was fluid; families of one band often becoming affiliated with neighboring groups. Furthermore, the group looked upon itself as a unit as opposed to Shoshoni and Bannock peoples. I secured no information which indicated the presence of a permanent Bannock group west of the Snake River in 1840–1850. The Bannock, according to the Wada Eaters' version, were a Northern Paiute group who migrated east across the Snake when the buffalo withdrew from Oregon. My material also disagrees with Berreman's allotment of the region around Gateway on the Deschutes River to the Tenino. I have no evidence which indicates the expansion of the Paiute bands at the expense of Sahaptin groups in the first half of the nineteenth century, except for occasional raids.

BEATRICE BLYTH

YALE UNIVERSITY

NORTHERN PAIUTE

The name, Northern Paiute, is preferable to Paviotso for the Indians of the western Great Basin, because they call themselves Paiute, are called Paiute by their Indian neighbors, and are so termed in government reports; also because they form a cultural and linguistic unit much more extensive than Powell's Paviotso.

The Northern Paiute occupy the western part of the Great Basin in California, Nevada, Oregon, and Idaho. The northern and western bound-

[62] Steward, *Linguistic Distributions*, fig. 1.

[63] Ray, *Native Villages and Groupings of the Columbia Basin*, map, p. 5.

[64] Berreman, *Tribal Distribution*, pp. 47 f., 63 f., fig. 2.

[65] The northern and eastern bands seemed also to have owned and made more use of the horse.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

164 757 small-pox and measles contracted from the whites, which have caused great havoc in nearly all the tribes. Hot and cold baths are the favorite native remedy for all their ills, but other simple specifics, barks, herbs, and gums are employed as well. Indeed, so efficacious is their treatment, or rather, perhaps, so powerful with them is nature in resisting disease, that when the locality or cause of irregularity is manifest, as in the case of wounds, fractures, or snake-bites, remarkable cures are ascribed to these people. But here as elsewhere, the sickness becoming at all serious or mysterious, medical 756 treatment proper is altogether abandoned, and the patient committed to the magic powers of the medicine-man. In his power either to cause or cure disease at will implicit confidence is felt, and failure to heal indicates no lack of skill; consequently the doctor is responsible for his patient's recovery, and in case of death is liable to, and often does, answer with his life, so that a natural death among the medical fraternity is extremely rare. His only chance of escape is to persuade relatives of the dead that his ill success is attributable to the evil influence of a rival physician, who is the one to die; or in some cases a heavy ransom soothes the grief of mourning friends and avengers. 173 757 One motive of the Cayuses in the massacre of the Whitman family is supposed to have been the missionary's failure to cure the measles in the tribe. He had done his best to relieve the sick, and his power to effect in all cases a complete cure was un- 756 questioned by the natives. The methods by which the medicine-man practices his art are very uniform in all the nations. The patient is stretched on his back in the centre of a large lodge, and his friends few or many sit about him in a circle, each provided with sticks wherewith to drum. The sorcerer, often grotesquely painted, enters the ring, chants a song, and proceeds to force the evil spirit from the sick man by pressing both clenched fists with all his might in the pit of his stomach, kneading and pounding also other parts of the body, blowing occasionally through his own fingers, and sucking blood